



THE KEYNOTER



“ALL ABOARD”

• WHISTLESTOP CAMPAIGNING IN AMERICA •
ALICE ROOSEVELT • DWIGHT EISENHOWER • AMERICA FIRST

Managing Editor's Message

Some of our members have almost unique specialties. One of these is Ed Segal, a Washington, DC public relations executive, who has a fascination for whistle-stop trains. In this issue, he shares his knowledge with us in a short history and how-to look at railroads in American politics, along with some of the interesting items from his collection.

The Summer-Fall issue was unfortunately a month behind schedule in reaching you due mainly to a delay in the printing plant. I mention this because it was clear from page 2 that we expected you would receive it before the Zach Taylor Daguerreotype auction. For those who might have been interested, the final price was \$14,300, including buyer's fee.

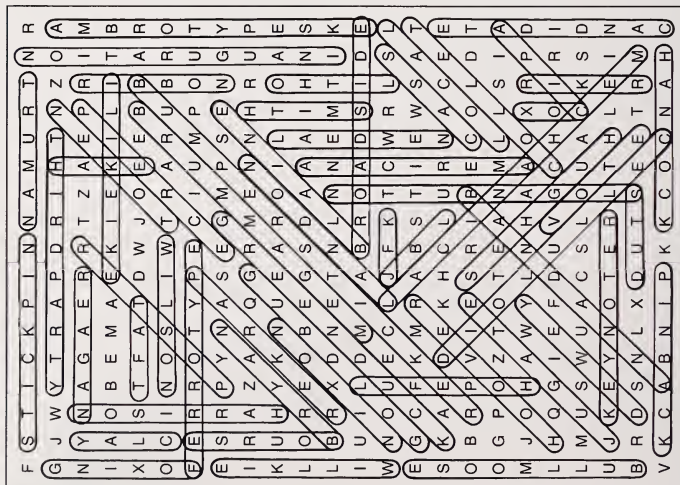
This concludes 10 years now that I have been putting out *The Keynoter*. It could not have been done without a lot of help from many collectors, both the regulars and many first-timers, some of whom have also become regulars, to the benefit of the membership and my great delight. Some of you are still out there with good ideas that would make good articles. Now is the time to come to the aid, etc. 1-800-336-0156.

I hope you have a good holiday season and that 1989 is your best collecting year ever.



Robert A. Fratkin
Managing Editor

ANSWER GRID
FOR POLITICAL
WORDSEARCH
PAGE 34



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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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FEATURES

Whistle-stop Campaigning	
Campaigning by Rail.....	Page 4
What Whistle-stop Trains Were Like	Page 10
Anecdotes and Recollections	Page 12
Trains are Alive and Well	Page 20
Organizing Your Own Train	Page 22
The Edwards Special	Page 24
The Miracle of 1948?.....	Page 25
Eisenhower Answers America	Page 28
Princess Alice and Prince Henry	Page 30
The "America First" Committee	Page 32

DEPARTMENTS:

Items of Interest	Page 33
Political Wordsearch	Page 34

Illustrations: The Editors wish to thank Stephen Ackerman, Ted Blackwell, Danny Crew, Christopher Hearn, Trudy Mason, Edward Novick, John Pendergrass, and Edward Segal for contributing pieces to this issue. A special thanks to Douglas Clark, Mayor of Lexington, GA, for the Alexander Stephens envelope pictured in the last issue.

Covers: *Front:* Photograph of John F. Kennedy on back platform of "Kennedy Campaign Special" train-blk/wht; *Back:* Sheet music cover-red/wht/blk.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The Spring Keynoter will feature a recent APIC interview with Eugene McCarthy, with illustrations of materials from his various campaigns. The sheet music project will return with a surprise piece, along with a diverse selection of other topics.

CAMPAIGNING BY RAIL

An Anecdotal History of Whistle-Stop Trains

By Edward Segal

Long before presidential campaigns became a full-time multi-million dollar industry, candidates relied on whistle-stop trains as the most effective — and sometimes only — way to communicate directly with the people.

Since the early 19th century the trains have served as backdrops for political dramas and intrigues of dozens of presidential candidates and scores of congressional and gubernatorial hopefuls. At last count, there were 84 politicians who have campaigned by train, including Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, Theodore Roosevelt, Eugene Debs, Dwight Eisenhower, Richard Nixon, and Ronald Reagan.

Today, whistle-stop trains are regarded primarily as photo opportunities for politicians looking for ways to make the evening newscast. But this was not always the case. In pre-urban, pre-television America, the public not only accepted these trains as their only opportunity to hear and see candidates — they hoped for and expected them.

Voters in the late 19th and early 20th centuries treasured the chance to see a famous politician speak from the rear platform of a train as a once-in-a-lifetime event, and entire towns would close their schools and businesses for the occasion. To them, a whistle-stop train was definitely something to remember — a bit of “I-remember-when” history to pass on to their children and grandchildren.

Unfortunately, recollections of the pivotal role these trains played in national, state, and local elections fade a bit more from our memories with the passing of each generation of voters. So too do whistle-stop related anecdotes, quotes and stories that constitute an important part of our American political heritage.

For example, did you know that:

- President Woodrow Wilson suffered his debilitating stroke while on board a whistle-stop train as he campaigned for public support for the League of Nations treaty?
- When, in 1948, Thomas Dewey’s train jerked away from the railroad station, Dewey blurted out “What’s the matter with that idiot engineer?” The Democrats quickly used the quote against him, charging the Republican candidate was insensitive to blue collar workers.
- When President Harry S Truman was whistle-stopping across the country that same year, his campaign ran out of money; funds had to be telegraphed from Washington so the train could continue on its way.
- Vice President Richard Nixon was campaigning by train in California in 1952 when he first learned of

press reports charging that he had a secret slush fund. His efforts to refute the allegations led him to deliver the famous “Checkers Speech” on national television.

- Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson campaigned for Vice President by train in 1960. As his “Corn Pone Special” left the station in Culpepper, Va., Johnson yelled to the crowd, “And remember, what has Richard Nixon ever done for Culpepper?”

The history of whistle-stop trains is one of the most interesting — but least documented — aspects of American political campaigns. There are several reasons why this is so:

Few modern day voters or collectors understand the important role these trains played in state and national elections. Fewer still appreciate how, even today, whistle-stop events can help political candidates generate media coverage for their campaign activities.

- There exists no comprehensive compilation of the history of these trains. Election year stories about campaign specials are often limited to reminiscences about what most people regard as “the” whistle-stop tour: President Harry S Truman’s successful uphill campaign for election in 1948.

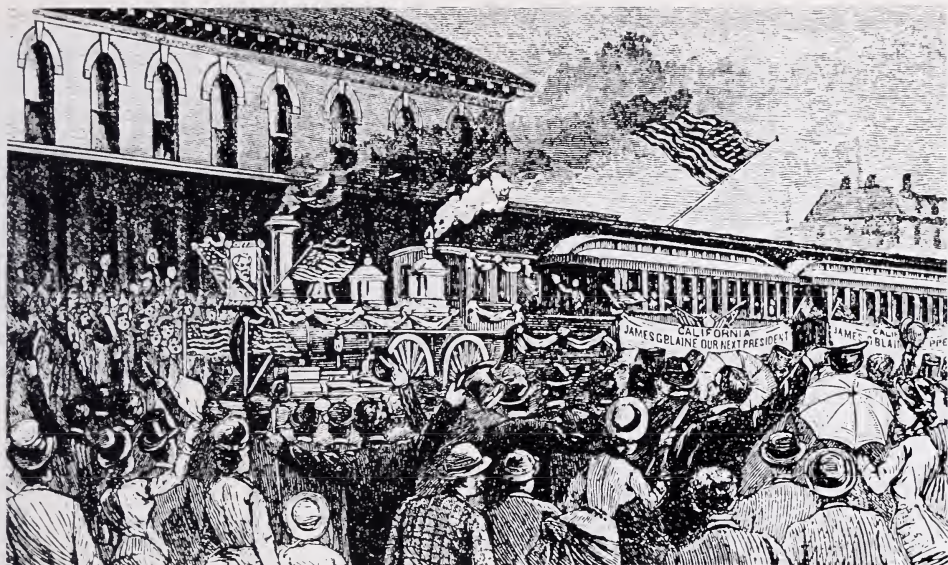
In fact, there have been more than 100 different campaign train trips in the last 152 years, ranging from William Henry Harrison and Martin Van Buren in 1836 to Jesse Jackson and Michael Dukakis earlier this year.

- There is not much to collect in regards to any candidate’s train trip. Few politicians went to the trouble or expense to make or distribute items that would promote their brief visits to the railroad stations that used to dot the country.

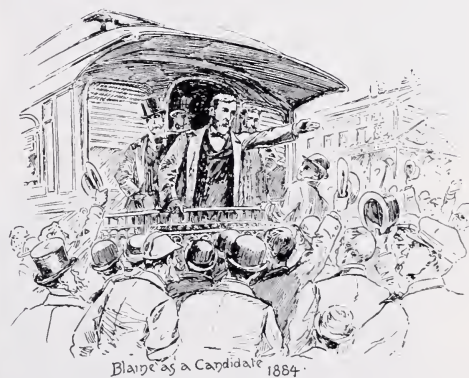
Indeed, when compared to the thousands of candidate-oriented buttons, banners, posters and leaflets that collectors seek to trade or sell every year, the pickings for whistle-stop aficionados is rather slim.

- There are few centralized sources for collectors to consult about whistle-stop trains. Much of the information is scattered across the country in libraries, private collections, out of print books, and magazine and newspaper articles that are difficult to find or are poorly indexed.
- Many of those who had some connection with these campaign trains — including candidates, reporters, and campaign aides — are hard to locate, are deceased, or can no longer remember their experiences in great detail.

All of which helps explain why the relatively few train-



Trainload of Blaine supporters arrives in Augusta, ME - 1884



Blaine as a Candidate 1884.

related items that do exist are so rare. And so interesting. The list includes post cards, reception committee ribbons and buttons, dining car menus, photographs, editorial cartoons, whistles, balloons, credentials, newsreel footage, and newspaper and magazine clippings.

While there are comparatively few tangible items to display about whistle-stop trains, there is a plethora of stories about them. That's because there exists a wealth of recollections and anecdotes that a careful and dedicated collector can cull from newspapers, magazines, memoirs, biographies, history books, and interviews.

Taken together, this accumulated information provides a patchwork quilt of descriptions and reminisces about

what it was like to campaign for office from the back platform of a whistle-stop train.

According to William Safire's *The New Language of Politics*, "whistle-stop" is a rather recent political term that used to have an entirely different meaning.

In 1952, *The Jackson (Tennessee) Sun* provided this background information of the word:

"A 'whistle-stop,' in railroad terms, is a community too small to enjoy a regular scheduled service. Customarily, the passenger trains whiz right by. But if there are passengers to be discharged, shortly before the train approaches the station, the conductor signifies that fact by pulling the signal cord. The engineer responds with two toots of the whistle. Naturally enough, such unscheduled pauses became known as 'whistle-stops.' The communities were 'whistle-stop towns,' shortened in the course of time to 'whistle-stops.'"

The term was later dropped by the railroads, however, when the word became synonymous with "jerkwater town", "tank town", "hick town" and other similar slurs against small communities.

After President Truman's train tour across the country in 1948, Republican presidential nominee Senator Robert Taft criticized him for delivering remarks from the back-platform of the train "blackguarding Congress at whistle-stops all across the country." But Taft's remarks backfired when the mayors of the cities where the Truman train had stopped claimed that Taft's comments offended their constituents.

Four years later, however, the term "whistle-stop" had lost its negative connotation. It soon became an important and colorful part of the language of politics.

The use of whistle-stop trains as a campaign tool

paralleled the growth of the American railroad system. Ironically, its early use as a method of political transportation was limited by standards of public decency: in the early days of the republic, it was considered beneath the dignity of presidents or candidates to wage public campaigns of any kind. The office was supposed to seek the man, not the other way around.

As early as 1836, presidential candidates such as William Henry Harrison and Martin Van Buren would travel by train in order to attend campaign appearances. The first real whistle-stop campaign was not waged, however, until 52 years later when Stephen A. Douglas ran against Abraham Lincoln for a U.S. Senate seat from Illinois.

Writing in *The Encyclopedia of North American Railroading*, Freeman Hubbard credits Douglas for "originating the idea in 1858 by mounting a cannon on a flatcar at the end of a train and firing it to proclaim his arrival at way stations."

Andrew Johnson was the first incumbent president to campaign by train when he made what later became the traditional "swing around the circle" by rail to speak to voters in New York City, Chicago, St. Louis and Washington, D.C.

Other 19th century whistle-stopping politicians included Ulysses S. Grant, Rutherford B. Hayes, Samuel J. Tilden, James G. Blaine, Grover Cleveland, and Benjamin Harrison.

Campaign trains reached their maturity, however, when William Jennings Bryan ran for president in 1896, and broke with tradition by campaigning in his own private rail car. The "Silver-Tongued Orator" traveled an estimated 18,000 miles by rail and delivered 600 speeches at hundreds of train depots in more than two dozen states.

Given the poor condition of the nation's interstate



West Coast Delegate Train - 1900 - Convention-Bound



Bryan Campaigning in Crestline, Ohio - 1896



On the "rear" platform, sure enough.

Anti-Bryan Cartoon - 1900

highways and since airplane travel was years away, railroad campaigning was — simply put — the best way for national office seekers to see and be seen by voters. And as more and more citizens came to depend on the nation's rail system for transportation, so did a growing number of politicians.

Consequently, several early-20th century politicians



Satirical Postcard - 1908

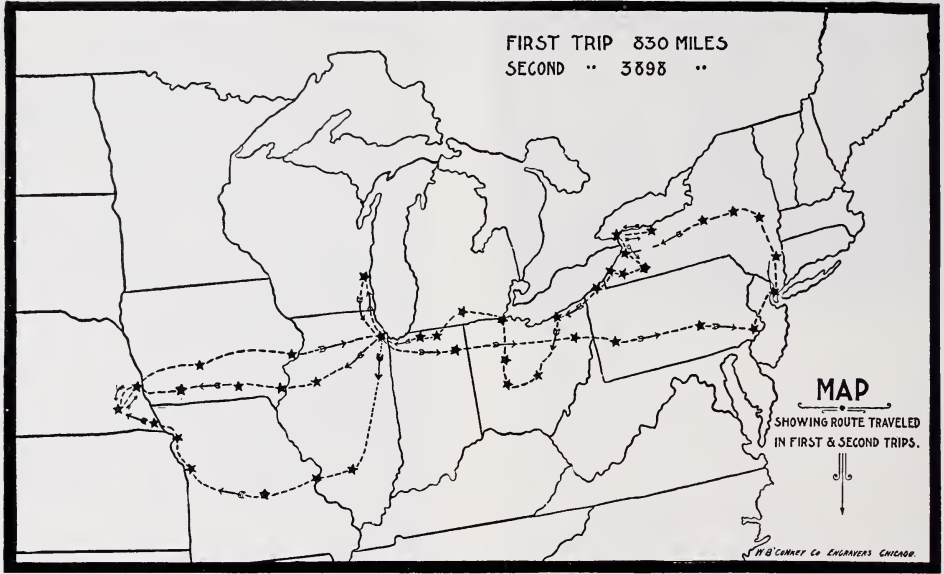
relied heavily on whistle-stop tours in their quest for national office, including Theodore Roosevelt (1900, 1904 and 1912), William Howard Taft (1908 and 1912), Woodrow Wilson (1912), Charles Evans Hughes (1916), Warren G. Harding (1920), Calvin Coolidge (1924) and Alfred E. Smith (1928).

Today, presidential hopefuls still try to make room in their busy schedules to turn a brief whistle-stop ride into a photo opportunity. It's a far cry, however, from their predecessors, who regarded "campaign specials" and back platform speeches as election year necessities.★

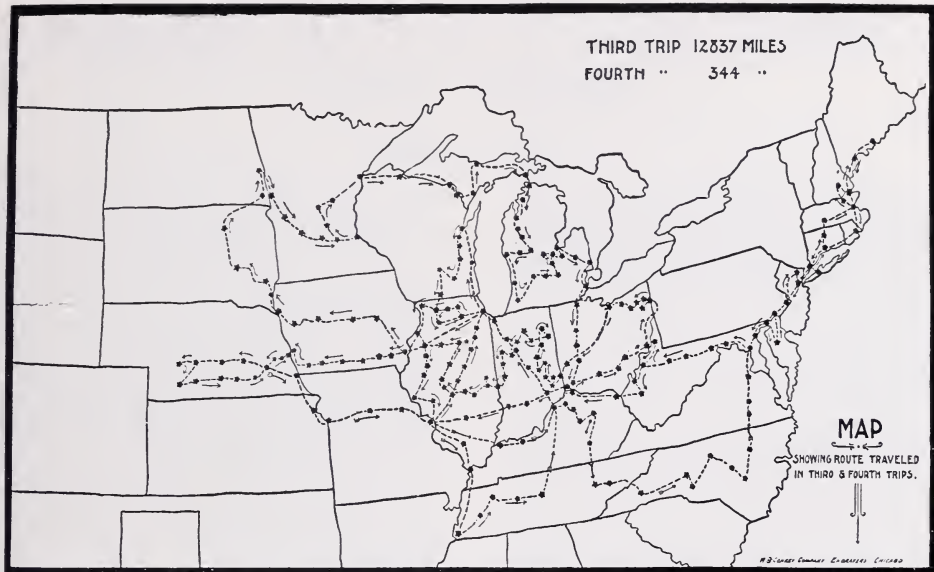
MOVING?

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William Jennings Bryan - 1896 The First Whistlestop Campaign



Bryan Speaking in Nebraska



Bryan Speaking in Wellsville, Ohio

WHAT WHISTLE-STOP TRAINS WERE LIKE

By Edward Segal

Like snowflakes and fingerprints, no two political whistle-stop trains were ever alike. Each reflected the personality of the candidate and staff they carried. Each had their own traits, idiosyncracies and peculiarities. And each made their own unique contribution to American political lore.

After studying dozens of local, regional, and national railroad campaign tours, however, it is possible to compile a composite sketch of what a "typical" whistle-stop train was like.

The car carrying the candidate was always last on the train and featured a platform from which he would speak to crowds at rail depots.

The car directly in front of the candidate's car was reserved for security personnel, representatives of the railroad company, the press relations staff, confidential secretaries, and a top ranking political staff member. The next two or three coaches served as the quarters for the rest of the candidate's staff, including speech writers, secretaries, political advisors, medical staff, mimeograph operators, and assorted VIPs.

The VIPs usually boarded the campaign special when the train entered their state or congressional district. They would depart after conferring in private or appearing with the candidate on the back platform. Next came a lounge car for use by the staff and press, and a working car for the traveling reporters with typewriters, tables, and a Western Union man who made arrangements to send their stories back to their home office.

The media did not always have to get off the train to

listen to the candidate, since a built-in public address system usually piped the speech back to their car for them.

Completing the configuration were three or four Pullman cars, a baggage car and the locomotives.

On average, trains such as these cost candidates between \$1,500 and \$3,000 a day.

When a President campaigned by rail, everything from the decor to the food was usually better than on a non-presidential whistle-stop tour. Indeed, reporters and political aides who rode campaign trains during World War II usually had access to food and beverages that had been rationed to the general public.

In his memoirs, Jack Bell, a longtime reporter with The Associated Press, recalled that President Truman's train "was an air-conditioned city in itself. It bedded down and fed the candidate, staff members, newsmen, and ordinary politicians."

Truman "had a special car fitted with the best living accommodations on rails and all of the latest electronic equipment with which to keep in constant touch with the White House - and through it the world - on all the internal and external affairs of government."

Bell wrote that "A Pullman car - usually the vintage of 1890 - was converted into a press work car by the simple expedient of ripping out the interior installations, building wooden tables along each side, and plunking some folding chairs down in the resulting aisles. From these quarters reporters turned out millions of typewritten and dictated words that kept a candidate and his ideas before the country."



William Howard Taft

One of the most famous railroad cars ever to be part of a national whistle-stop campaign tour was the *Ferdinand Magellan*. Originally manufactured in 1928, it is the only Pullman car that was custom built for use by a President of the United States.

The car was rebuilt to White House specifications in 1942 when President Franklin Roosevelt's press secretary and the chief of the White House Secret Service detail recommended that additional security precautions be taken when the President traveled around the country by rail.

The *Magellan* measured more than 83½ feet long, 14½ feet high, and 10 feet wide. Interior creature comforts included refrigerators, ice and storage compartments, gallery, pantry, and servants' quarters.

The largest room in the car was a combination dining room and conference room featuring a mahogany table, matching chairs, and gold-plated wall candelabras and chandeliers. The walls were paneled in limed oak and the ceiling was ivory, etched in antique gold.

Between the dining room and observation lounge were four staterooms, including the Presidential Suite. It was

equipped with a full-sized, permanent bed, vanity table, closet, wash basin and cabinet. An adjacent spacious 12-foot observation lounge featured soft cream woodwork and green carpeting.

The car — called POTUS (President of the United States) whenever it was part of a train — was entitled to the right of way over all other railroad traffic.

In typical government fashion, the car was declared surplus property in 1958 and was eventually transferred to an Army hospital in Maryland. Soon afterwards, the Gold Coast Railroad made arrangements to acquire the car and it was moved permanently to Miami, Fla.

Fortunately, the *Ferdinand Magellan* was later fully restored and renovated, and is now open regularly to the public.

Taxpayers have certainly got their money's worth from the *Magellan* over the years. Not only did President Roosevelt put the car to good use (50,000 miles) — so did his successors, including Presidents Harry Truman (21,000 miles), Dwight Eisenhower (about 1,000 miles), and Ronald Reagan (200 miles).★



Taft and Sherman - 1908 - Utica, N.Y.



"Prosperity - The Way We Welcomed Taft" - 1912



WHISTLE-STOP ANECDOTES AND RECOLLECTIONS

By Edward Segal

While there may not be a wealth of items related to whistle-stop trains, there is a virtual gold mine of descriptions, anecdotes and reminiscences about them — if you know where to look.

Following are just a few of the many stories that have been gathered from biographies, newspaper articles, magazine accounts and interviews with reporters who covered whistle-stop trains, candidates who rode them, and campaign aides who helped organize them.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

In *Presidential Campaigns*, Paul F. Boller, Jr. wrote that at one whistle-stop in 1900 "... a Democratic orator announced confidently that Mrs. Bryan would be sleeping in the White House after March 4. 'If so,' cried a Republican in the crowd, 'she'll be sleeping with McKinley!'"

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Roosevelt campaigned by train in 1900 when he ran for Vice President. One day his train made a brief scheduled stop in Bloomington, Ill.

A reporter who got off to make a purchase at a nearby store was caught unaware when the special pulled out before he could get back on. The reporter ran at top speed, puffing and straining, but the gap between him and the last car kept widening. Just as he was about to give up, Roosevelt, standing on the rear platform, leaned over, reached out, and helped the galloping reporter on to the rear platform of the speeding train.

EUGENE V. DEBS

In 1908, Socialist Party presidential candidate Eugene Debs campaigned across the country from the back of "The Red Special."

It turned out to be a grueling and exhausting experience.

In "Eugene V. Debs: The Making of An American Radical", author Ray Ginger recounts that after a speech in Spokane, Wash., Debs was "so weary that he could

hardly crawl out of his berth, and the sound of his voice had scarcely died out before he was back in bed.

"Day after endless day, Debs drove himself out on the rear platform to smile and wave to the adoring hundreds.... but the time finally arrived when he could just not stand the pace. It became obvious that Debs would never finish the trip unless he conserved his energy."

Debs's brother, Theodore, together with a campaign aide, finally came up with a solution.

"Theodore was almost a dead ringer for his brother, except that he was nine years younger," Ginger wrote. "When a crowd at a station yard at night began to shout for Debs, Theodore turned up his collar, pulled down his hat brim, and stepped onto the back platform."

The Deb campaign aide announced that "Comrade Debs is quite tired; we are now behind schedule; we have a very important meeting in the next town; Comrade Debs will not speak."

After which Theodore stepped quickly back into the railroad coach.



Teddy Roosevelt - 1912



The trick worked. Debs regained his strength and supporters who had gathered at train depots thought that they had at least seen him in person.

WARREN G. HARDING

The public address system, a standard feature on all campaign specials, was first used on the train that carried President Warren G. Harding to Alaska in 1923. Crowds along the way often came out to see the "newfangled" loudspeakers and the telephone that could be plugged into the overhead lines as much as they did to see and hear the President.

HERBERT HOOVER

Reporters who traveled on Herbert Hoover's whistle-stop train in 1932 recall the Chief Executive was clearly uncomfortable delivering back platform speeches.

Richard Strout, then a reporter with the *Christian Science Monitor*, said that Hoover was much too shy for the part and often mumbled through his speeches. "It was embarrassing to watch him try to be carefree, jolly and bouncy on the stump. He was not a good speaker at all.

"In fact," Strout recalled, "at one stop a small boy turned away in disgust after listening to Hoover speak and said to no one in particular, 'Speak up! Speak up!'"

ALBEN W. BARKLEY

In his memoir, "That Reminds Me —", Alben W. Barkley recounted the time in 1932 when he campaigned with Franklin Roosevelt on board "The Roosevelt Special." Barkley, who was then running for reelection to the U.S. Senate from Kentucky, introduced Roosevelt to crowds who had gathered at railroad depots as the train traveled across the state.

"One day we pulled into Corbin, a sizeable industrial town and railroad center....I pranced out on the rear platform, ready to make my little speech for Mr. Roosevelt....

"My friends," I began, "it has been four years since I spoke in Corbin, so naturally I cannot recall every individual in this great crowd by name.

"But I can recognize that you are the same people I addressed here four years ago (because) after four years of Hoover, you are all wearing the same clothes that you had on four years ago!"

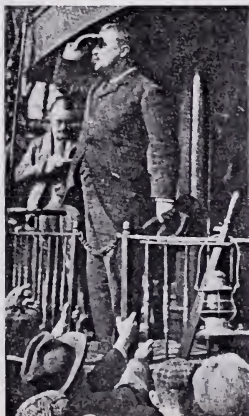
"The crowd roared, 'Amen! That's the truth!' and F.D.R., who always enjoyed political humor, laughed with them. For years to come I often heard him refer to the Corbin incident as a choice example of pertinent political satire."

FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT

President Roosevelt enjoyed campaigning or traveling by train. In fact, he usually instructed train crews not to go faster than 35 miles per hour, since a slower rate of speed meant a smoother ride. He would often sit by the window of his private car, watching the countryside roll by and consulting the progress of the train with a small map he kept at his side.

Merriman Smith, a reporter with United Press International, described the specially fortified private rail car used by President Roosevelt during World War II:

"The under part of the car is heavily shielded with steel to make it bottom-heavy in the event an assailant tried to bomb the train. The heavy weight would make the car sit down, rather than turn over.



DAY LETTER

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B Chicago Ills 3

Review DeKalb Ills

Woodrow Wilson special will pass th rough DeKalb at Three Fifty
Five Saturday afternoon ,stop fifteen Minutes at Northwestern
Depot

Woodrow Wilson Headquarters

335 PM



Woodrow Wilson - Whistle Stopping in 1912



PENNSYLVANIA SYSTEM

DINING CAR SERVICE

SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING
REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE

- SPECIAL TRAIN -

DINNER

OYSTERS - COITUTS (Half Dozen) 35, COCKTAIL (Half Dozen) 45

SOUP - CREAM OF OYSTERS - Cup 20; Tureen 35

GREEN TURTLE, Clear, in Cup 40

SWEET PICKLES 15

STUFFED OLIVES 25

MEXICAN SLAW 25

BROILED LAKE TROUT, Maitre d'Hotel 55 80

SUCED CUCUMBERS 30

Salmi of Duck, Jardiniere 95

Vegetarian Dinner, with Poached Egg on Toast 85

Sirloin Steak (for two), au Gratin Potatoes 3.00

French Toast, Strained Honey 50

ROAST LEG OF LAMB, Brown Gravy 90; with Mashed Potatoes 1.15

LAMB CHOP 10

SMALL STEAK 1.15

FULL SIRLOIN STEAK 1.70

BACON AND EGGS 70

BACON 70; Half Portion 40

HAM 70; Half Portion 40

BACON, per Slice 15

COLD MEATS, ETC.

COLD CHICKEN WITH JELLY 95

COLD ROAST BEEF 85

COLD BOILED HAM 75

TONGUE 85

SARDINES 50

ASSORTED COLD CUTS, Small Portion Potato Salad 1.25

BAKED BEANS (Hot or Cold) 40

FRIED EGG PLANT 35

POTATOES - Escalloped 25, au Gratin 40

CAULIFLOWER, Creamed 35

BUTTERED BEETS 30

LETTUCE AND GRAPE FRUIT SALAD, French Dressing 35 60

CHICKEN SALAD, Mayonnaise Dressing 60 90

POTATO SALAD 25 40

DINNER ROLLS 15

GRAHAM BREAD 10

BROWN BREAD 15

WHOLE WHEAT, WATERS 15

FRESH PEACH COBBLER, Cream Sauce 35

FIG PUDDING, Hard and Fruit Sauce 35

PENNSYLVANIA SPECIAL ICE CREAM 25

NABISCO WAFERS 10

ROQUEFORT CHEESE WITH CRACKERS 40

HAWAIIAN PINEAPPLE 30

PRESERVED FIGS with Cream 45

PRESERVED PEACHES, RASPBERRIES OR STRAWBERRIES, Individual 30

ORANGE OR GRAPEFRUIT MARMALADE 30

COFFEE, TEA OR COCOA, Pot for One 20, Demi Tasse 15

MILK (Individual Bottle) 15

BUTTERMILK (Foe) 15

INSTANT POSTUM, Cup 15

MALTED MILK (Hot or Cold) 20; with Egg 25

HIGH GRADE SELECTED CANDIES

Maytime Cherries, half pound 50

Brazil Nut Chocolate, half pound 75

Assorted Bon Bows and Chocolates, half pound 65

Pay only upon presentation of check; see that

extensions and total are correct.

Suggestions for the betterment of the service in this car are invited.

JAS. P. ANDERSON, Passenger Traffic Manager, Chicago, Ill.

W. W. CONNER, Passenger Traffic Manager, Pittsburgh, Pa.

W. W. RICHARDSON, Passenger Traffic Manager, St. Louis, Mo.

Enroute to Cincinnati, Ohio, October 12th, 1920

(over)



"STEVENS, ALA. PHOTO SHOWS GOVERNOR. ALFRED E. SMITH, DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT AS HE APPEARED GREETING ONE OF THE ALABAMA BEAUTIES THAT CHEERED HIM ON HIS ARRIVAL IN STEVENSON DURING HIS PRESENT TOUR OF THE SOUTH. 10-15-28"

"The windows are three inches thick and can stop a .50 calibre machine gun slug at point-blank range. The windows, because of this thickness, are tinted a slight green which has the same effect as a color filter on a camera. The countryside can be seen through the windows in true color values regardless of glare or reflection.

"Extra heavy doors with complicated double locks are at each end of the car. Included in the equipment are double galleys for the preparation of food, a dining room large enough for twelve, five staterooms, and a comfortable living room. The President's stateroom comes complete with a shower, lavatory, and toilet.

"The car is not rampantly luxurious, but furnished in subdued taste. The walls are paneled in limed oak and there is dull green carpeting on the floor. The living room has a large sofa and several overstuffed chairs."

When President Roosevelt traveled by train across the country during World War II, every inch of track was inspected, railroad switches were locked in place, and up to 150,000 soldiers stood guard on a single trip.

Eleanor Roosevelt did not enjoy campaigning as much as her husband did, and once told *Newsweek* magazine that she thought it was in poor taste to go out and electioneer for Franklin.

Over the years she developed her own rules about whistle-stop campaigning and political traveling in general:

1. Always be on time.
2. Never try to make any personal engagements.
3. Do as little talking as humanly possible.
4. Remember to lean back in the parade car so that everybody could see the president.
5. Be sure and not get fat, because you will have to fit three people in the back seat (of the car).
6. Get out of the way as quickly as you can when you are not needed.

WENDELL WILLKIE

In 1940, someone threw a brick through a window of Wendell Willkie's campaign special as it was leaving a rail depot in Grand Rapids, Mich.

Mary Earhart Dillon recounted in her biography of Willkie that the incident marked "the first time in more than a generation (that) an election campaign had become a matter of physical assault.

"Congress passed a resolution in condemnation of such rowdiness, and President Roosevelt himself denounced as reprehensive the action of persons who threw missiles at the Republican candidate."

HARRY TRUMAN

Access to clean laundry was one of the biggest difficulties encountered by those who campaigned on or traveled with whistle-stop trains.

Author Robert Donovan recalled in an interview that reporters aboard the Truman campaign special would send their dirty laundry ahead by plane to the hotel in the next city where they were scheduled to stay.

"If you were going to be in Minneapolis two nights from now, and you were in Florida today, well, you would fly the laundry ahead to Minneapolis and pick it up there."

Nearly every whistle-stop train has had its own theme, atmosphere, anecdotes, and even its own song that was composed by reporters in the accompanying press car.

Richard L. Strout (formerly the TRB columnist for the *New Republic*) recalls the time on the 1948 Truman train trip that colleague Tom Stokes penned "The Little Man's Ballad." The song, using words from Truman's back-platform remarks — mimicked the President's speeches in which he explained that he was traveling across the country to receive an honorary degree from the University of California at Berkeley.

When the Republicans criticized Truman for making the trip, the President said that "They can't prove nothing; they ain't got a thing on me."

Sung to the tune of "Oh, Susanna", one of the lines from the ballad went:

I went to work for Pendergast, he made a judge of me;
Before I knew what happened I was picked by
Franklin D.;

I got my boots and saddles on and started for the sea;
I made a lot of speeches and I plugged for Sun Vallee.

Chorus:

They can't prove nothing, they ain't got a thing on me;
I'm going down to Berkeley for to get me a degree!

ADLAI STEVENSON

Some of the difficulties faced by passengers on whistle-stop trains reflected social problems encountered by major segments of the population.

James L. Hicks, a black reporter on Stevenson's 1952 campaign special, was denied a hotel room when the train pulled into New Orleans. Dwight Eisenhower's train had no such problems, however. The schedule for the campaign special was arranged so the candidate and his staff never had to spend a night in a segregated Southern city.

George Herman, former CBS newsman and moderator of "Face The Nation", had heard a lot about covering whistle-stops before he was assigned to ride on Adlai Stevenson's presidential campaign train in 1956.

Herman recalled in an interview that the traveling reporters saw "crowds along the way waiting to wave at the candidate without ever knowing whether he would step out and wave back. And I must say that most of the press people waved back...you just did not want to disappoint them."

Herman observed that Stevenson, an otherwise learned and erudite politician, was a babe in the woods when it came to understanding the impact of the mass media in an election year.

Once during the train trip Herman promised Stevenson a five minute story on the evening news if the candidate would only let a CBS cameraman take some pictures of him writing a speech, meeting with aides, talking with supporters, etc.

"Oh no," Stevenson replied, "that would be a gross invasion of my privacy."

Herman recalled thinking to himself that, "if this man doesn't even understand television and politics, he doesn't understand America."



Roosevelt and Garner



Roosevelt With Wm. Gibbs McAdoo

LYNDON JOHNSON

Former President Truman advised Sen. Lyndon Johnson to use a whistle-stop train in his 1960 campaign for vice president.

"You may not believe this, Lyndon, but there are still a hell of a lot of people in this country who don't know where the airport is. But they damn sure know where the depot is. And if you let 'em know you're coming, they'll be down and listen to you."

Reporters on Johnson's "Corn Pone Special" always knew when it was approaching the next stop because his staff would pipe "The Yellow Rose of Texas" through the train's public address system.

The song was their cue to be ready to leave the press car as soon as the train stopped, then walk back to the observation car to hear Johnson deliver a speech.

Bobby Baker, Johnson's campaign aide, would usually stand next to Johnson as he delivered his remarks. Each time Johnson neared the end of his address, he would kick Bobby Baker in the ankle. That was Baker's cue to signal the train crew to start the engine and pull the train out of the station.

But Johnson would always keep talking to the crowd even as the train rolled out of the depot, yelling "They're taking me away from ya! Bye everybody! Vote Democratic! They're taking me away from ya!"

BARRY GOLDWATER

It was not unusual for whistle-stopping candidates to be greeted by loud — but usually polite — hecklers at depots.

Barry Goldwater seemed to get more than his share in 1964, however.

Once when his train pulled into the station at Athens, Ohio, the hecklers appeared to outnumber the supporters.

One person carried a sign that read: "Don't stop here, we're poor enough!"

A few days later Goldwater was delivering a speech from the back of his train in a town outside Indianapolis. The campaign special had stopped next to a house with an apple tree growing in the backyard.

While Goldwater was making his remarks, the homeowner, clad in a white smock, threw apples at the train, shouting "that's what you'll be selling if he gets elected!"

LADY BIRD JOHNSON

Lady Bird Johnson campaigned 1,680 miles through the South in 1964 to help reassure Dixie that Lyndon Johnson had not forgotten his Southern roots. It was also historic, since it was the first time that a First Lady had gone on a whistle-stop tour by herself.

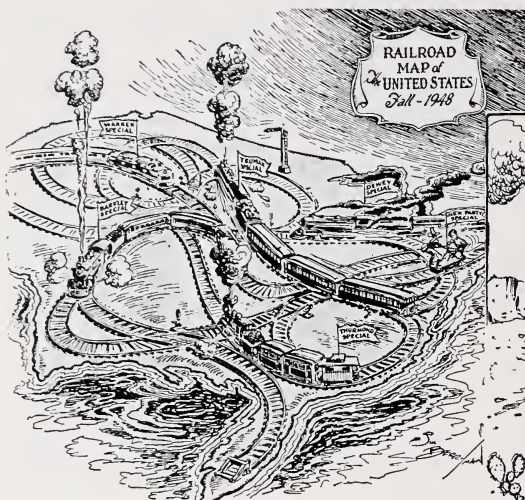
She delivered 47 speeches along the way, and welcomed on board about 1,600 local politicians, dignitaries, and other assorted VIPs.

To help encourage large turnouts of supporters at each station stop, Bess Able, an aide to Lady Bird Johnson, mailed an estimated 100,000 post cards to people along the train route urging them to greet the train when it arrived in their town and to vote on election day.

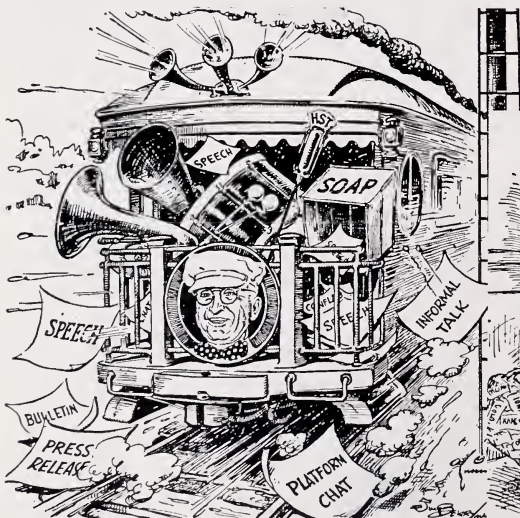
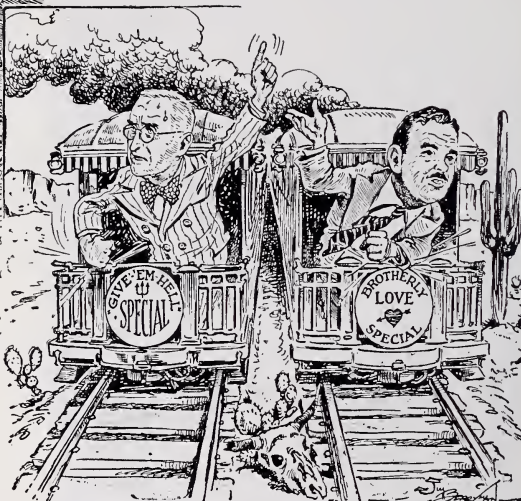
Nancy Dickerson of NBC News reported that "The Lady Bird Special" was "a traveling circus with all the hoopla and fanfare. The crowd, which often waited a long



Franklin D. Roosevelt with W. Averill Harriman, Chairman, Union Pacific Rwy. (center) and Carl Gray, Union Pacific President (left)



Note the Thurmond Train and the “New Party” Handcar Carrying Wallace and Taylor (with cowboy hat and guitar)



time, could hear the strains of 'Hello, Lyndon' (a parody of 'Hello, Dolly') blaring from the loudspeakers on the train, and then the excitement would mount and everyone would be yelling as the train rolled to a stop.

"The 'Ladies for Lyndon,' dressed in red, white and blue, would get out and give souvenirs to the crowd - engineer hats, LBJ hats, and even salt water taffy."

Once, as the train pulled out of a station, a young Goldwater supporter carried his placard and chased the train down the tracks. One of Johnson's daughters, Linda, who was standing on the rear platform, shouted to him that "You'll never catch us. We're in the 20th century and you're in the 18th!"

RICHARD NIXON

In a *Los Angeles Times* story, correspondent Don Irwin reported that when Nixon's 1968 whistle-stop train stopped at a small town in Ohio, two journalists from *The New York Times* got off and positioned themselves on the tracks on either side of the observation car.

Each reporter then decided to look for telephone booths so they could file their stories. But, according to Irwin, "the train pulled out ahead of schedule and they were left looking at one another across the empty tracks."

"Like other newsmen before them, the stranded journalists hired a cab to race the train to the next stop."

JIMMY CARTER

Jody Powell, press secretary to Jimmy Carter, recalled in an interview how a photocopier on Carter's 1976 whistle-stop tour of New Jersey and Pennsylvania overshadowed press coverage of the colorful campaign event.

By coincidence, news about Carter's *Playboy* interview became public the same day of the train ride. Powell says he immediately regretted putting the copier on board. The machine — which was originally intended for duplicating news releases and speeches — was used instead by dozens of reporters to make copies of the controversial interview.

After all was said and done it was the interview — not the whistle-stop train — that made the news that day. ★



EISENHOWER			
<i>"Look Ahead" Train</i>			
OFFICIAL GUEST			
NAME <u>Hal E. Short</u>			
BOARDING TRAIN AT <u>Vancouver</u>		LEAVING TRAIN AT <u>Eugene</u>	
HOUR <u>11:55</u>	AM <u>PM</u>	HOUR <u>6:20</u>	AM <u>PM</u>
DATE <u>October 7</u>		DATE <u>October 7</u>	
1952 SPECIAL 1952			
Gordon Orput		COUNTERSIGNED NAME	
STAFF REPRESENTATIVE		STATE	

STEVENSON



Silver Spring
B & O Station

FRIDAY
October 31

10:00 A.M.

RAIN or SHINE

WHISTLE STOP

Everybody Come!

By Authority Mrs. Nathaniel Ely, Treas.
E. E. Cruser, Treas.



EISENHOWER

Look Ahead,
Neighbor!

SPECIAL

WHISTLE-STOP TRAINS ARE ALIVE AND WELL

By Edward Segal

In an editorial earlier this year in *The Washington Post*, the newspaper claimed that "whistle-stop" — a term used in connection with politicians who campaign for office by train — had "recently retired to a condo in Florida after a long and active career in political journalism."

There is no denying that television, jet planes and computers dramatically changed the way in which politicians seek votes. But those who think that these modern campaign methods have forced the retirement of whistle-stop trains are out of touch with political reality.

The opinion of *The Washington Post* notwithstanding, it is hardly unusual for a jet-age politician to go on a whistle-stop campaign tour to reach voters and attract press coverage. Indeed, proof abounds that the whistle stop event is the healthy and active "grand old man" of American political events.

Some recent examples:

- Two days before the Pennsylvania Democratic primary last April, Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis took a 114-mile campaign train tour of the

Keystone State. Traveling aboard the "Pennsylvania Presidential Unlimited," Dukakis followed the main line of the old Pennsylvania Railroad from Pittsburgh to Altoona, with stops in Greensburg and Johnstown.

- Last February, Democratic presidential hopeful Rev. Jesse Jackson campaigned in New Hampshire from the back of his "Rainbow Express" train, urging voters to get the country "back on track" by voting for him in that state's primary.

- In July, 1987, D.C. Delegate Walter Fauntroy organized the "Liberty Bell Express" train to Philadelphia to show public support for efforts in Congress to pass legislation that would confer statehood on the District of Columbia. Fauntroy and Mayor Marion Barry were joined on the one-day train trip by nearly 900 supporters. They staged rallies and gave speeches about the importance of the legislation in Baltimore, Wilmington and Philadelphia.

- In 1986, Baltimore Mayor William Donald Schaefer, accompanied by his running mate for Lt. Governor, went



VIA MISSOURI PACIFIC LINES

EISENHOWER & NIXON • CAMPAIGN SOUVENIR



VICE PRESIDENT DICK NIXON'S

1956

Railroad Campaign Tour

GOLDWATER AND MILLER

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES

1964

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆
Senator Barry Goldwater's
 ☆ CAMPAIGN TRAIN ☆
 ☆ ☆

BALTIMORE & OHIO RAILROAD

Goldwater Menu

Item: To help increase tourism in Tennessee, the "Homecoming '86 Special" took business leaders, celebrities, and politicians across the entire length of the state. The 10-car whistle-stop train stopped at 19 railroad stations, cost \$100,000, and included four cars with educational displays about railroad and Tennessee history.

Item: Last September, "Today Show" personalities Bryant Gumbel, Jane Pauley, and Willard Scott took the NBC network morning show on a tour of 10 American cities aboard an Amtrak train.

Item: Last spring, singer Johnny Cash made plans to bring a "Freedom Train" on a month-long whistle-stop tour from Memphis to Baltimore to honor Vietnam veterans and call national attention to servicemen missing in action. The train had to be cancelled, however, when backers were unable to raise enough money for the project.

Together with the non-political imitators they have spawned, the whistle-stop keeps chug-chug-chugging across the American countryside.

All of which helps explain why it is the proud and active "grand old man" of American political events.

If you have any doubts about it, just ask Michael Dukakis and Jesse Jackson. Or Pat Sajak and Vanna White.★



Plastic Whistle

on a one-day, one-car train whistle-stop campaign for governor in Anne Arundel County, Md.

- In 1984 President Reagan campaigned from the back of the "Heartland Special" through western Ohio. An estimated 100,000 people turned out to see the President at train depots and lined the tracks along the 200-mile route.

Political whistle-stop trains have worked so well for office seekers that they have given birth to a new generation of trains that seek to capture public attention for various non-political motives.

Item: In 1987, Vanna White and Pat Sajak, the letter-turner and host, respectively, of television's "Wheel of Fortune", rode the "Wheel of Fortune Express". They went on a two-day, 33-city whistle-stop tour from Miami to Washington to promote and publicize the syndicated television game show. Hundreds of fans waited for as long as two hours for the train to arrive at their local train depot.

Item: In 1986 the "Cajun Crescent" traveled across central Louisiana in a whistle-stop campaign to help educate the public about safety and to encourage enforcement of laws governing motor vehicle operation on railroad crossings.

The train traveled 600 miles over a four-day period. Passengers included lawmakers, VIPs, and federal and state officials.

How To Organize Your Own Whistle-Stop Train Tour

By Edward Segal

There is no secret to organizing and staging a successful whistle-stop train tour.

In fact, anyone can do it.

Anyone, that is, who knows what it is like to pay attention to the thousands of details that experienced campaign advance staffs worry about when they plan, stage and coordinate large-scale political events and rallies.

If you want to stage your own whistle-stop train tour, you'll need the following:

- A train route that runs through populated areas;
- Railroad tracks that are in good condition;
- Railroad depots where supporters can gather to meet and listen to your candidate;
- Lots of money — at least \$10,000 for every day of the whistle-stop tour — so you can rent a train complete with locomotives, passenger, and rear-platform cars;
- Hundreds of hard working volunteers to help turn out crowds at each train depot, decorate the railroad station, and hand out balloons, whistles and campaign materials; and
- A candidate.

Here's how some of the pros have done it:

Liz Carpenter, press secretary to Lady Bird Johnson, helped to organize the "Lady Bird Special" in 1964 which made 47 stops in eight Southern states.

In her memoir, *Ruffles and Flourishes*, Carpenter gave readers a behind-the-scenes look at the work that went into organizing the four day train tour. Weeks before the event — accompanied by Secret Service agents and members of the Johnson campaign staff — she made an inspection tour of the proposed route.

"Small Southern towns are made to order for whistle-stops. The depot is still downtown, right in the middle of the main street. J.C. Penny is on one side and International Harvester, with its shiny red tractors, on the other. A cotton gin is down the street.

"These were sleepy little towns when our advance group went through, but it didn't take long for word to spread that strangers were in town from Washington. The routine was the same. Joe Moran would get the depot master and figure out the exact spot for the train to stop. Bill Browley would call the local politicians. Jack Hight would touch base with the civic leaders. The Secret Service would scout the KKK situation. I would go into the depot and telephone the newspaper editor to get his advice.

"Their advice was invaluable. They had their fingers on the pulse of their town. They could measure how much goodwill the Democrats had in town."

Of course, not all whistle-stop train tours took place in the South. And they did not all carry presidential candidates or their wives.

In 1968, U.S. Senator Gaylord Nelson (D-Wisconsin) and Bronson LaFollette, the Democratic nominee for governor, spent three days seeking votes from the back of a campaign special. The route covered about half the state in a circle roughly between Milwaukee, Marshfield, Eau Claire and Madison.

The trip, originally suggested by Sen. Nelson, took more than a year to plan, required a half dozen campaign



Robert Kennedy - Columbus, Neb. 1968



Grand Island, Neb. 1968 - Note Nixon Hecklers

aides to coordinate and cost about \$20,000. The train itself consisted of a diesel engine; two regular coaches; a club car; and an old-fashioned sleeper car complete with bedroom, dining room, parlor and observation platform.

To entertain the passengers on board and the crowds at each stop, the train carried its own Dixieland band. Every time the campaign special pulled into a depot, the band rushed from the train to join the crowd on the railroad platform near the observation car.

Warren J. Sawall, a member of Nelson's staff, said that three weeks before the train trip he and other campaign aides "drove the entire circuit from the beginning to end with trainmen who would be assigned particular segments of the trip.

"At each stop, we met the local coordinator — persons I had recruited during the previous several months. We marked out the exact spot where the train could stop on the platform, went over the program and worked on procedures for building the local crowd.

"We also passed out large quantities of a very attractive poster that Kay Klipstine, a LaFollete coordinator, had developed. Kay also took care of many other details such as decorating the train, securing microphones for the observation platform, obtaining the services of the Dixieland band, and myriad other things.

"After a few days of rest and some consideration of the problems that were still unresolved, I drove the entire route again the week before the event and followed up on what we had done on the first trip."

Ironically, buses were an intricate and important part of the train trip.

According to Sawall, "A wonderful travel agent in Milwaukee, a quiet but great supporter of Nelson's, arranged some forty bus schedules. Buses picked up people in Milwaukee, for example, and brought them to the starting point at Kenosha.

"Meanwhile, buses had transported people from Manitowac and Sheboygan to Milwaukee and were ready to take the people on the train back to Racine and Kenosha. That bus pattern crisscrossed the area of the state covered by the train," Sawall said.

Every so often a whistle-stop train tour would cover new ground. Often, however, they would simply retrace historic rail routes.

The latter was the case when, in 1984, Oklahoma Republican Congressman Mickey Edwards kicked-off his reelection bid with a day-long 102-mile train tour of his congressional district in the central part of the state.

The congressman billed his "Edwards Express" as "a return to the colorful and exciting days of earlier American political campaigns." It was believed to be the first whistle-stop tour of Oklahoma cities since President Truman and New York Governor Thomas E. Dewey campaigned for the presidency 35 years earlier. Theodore Roosevelt also campaigned by rail in the state in 1900 and 1912.

By coincidence, the business car on the Edwards train was "The Topeka", which had been President Eisenhower's personal railroad car.

The train was also a convenient setting from which Edwards called public attention to his efforts to return rail passenger service to Oklahoma, which had been discontinued by Amtrak in 1979.

Liz Carpenter, Warren Sawall and Mickey Edwards all agreed that the time, money and effort that went into organizing their campaign specials were well worth it. It is a sentiment undoubtedly shared by all those candidates and their staffs who have ever staged a whistle-stop train tour of their own — or wished they had.★



Whistlestopping and the Media

THE EDWARDS SPECIAL

By Edward Segal

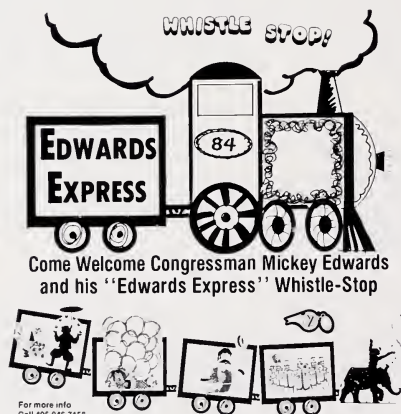
In an effort to generate news coverage about his decision to seek re-election to Congress in 1984, Oklahoma Republican Congressman Mickey Edwards decided to launch his campaign with a day-long 102-mile whistle-stop train tour of his congressional district.

The "Edwards Express" consisted of two locomotives, a passenger car and a rear-platform car, from which

Edwards addressed campaign rallies at train depots between Ponca City and Oklahoma City.

Edwards' attempt to rekindle memories of the colorful and exciting days of earlier American political campaigns worked. Hundreds of supporters turned out at each stop and the event was well covered by television stations, radio stations and newspapers across the state. ★

WHISTLE STOP!



Come Welcome Congressman Mickey Edwards
and his "Edwards Express" Whistle-Stop

For more info
Call 405-946-7158

<p>SATURDAY JULY 28, 1984</p>	<table> <tr> <td> <p> PONCA CITY 200 W. Oklahoma PERRY 412 Delaware GUTHRIE 402 W. Oklahoma OKLAHOMA CITY 100 So. E. K. Gaylord </p> </td> <td> <p> 9:00 AM 10:45 AM 12:15 PM 2:00 PM </p> </td> </tr> </table>	<p> PONCA CITY 200 W. Oklahoma PERRY 412 Delaware GUTHRIE 402 W. Oklahoma OKLAHOMA CITY 100 So. E. K. Gaylord </p>	<p> 9:00 AM 10:45 AM 12:15 PM 2:00 PM </p>
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PAID FOR BY EDWARDS '84 COMMITTEE



The Miracle of 1948?

By Martin Kane

As we approach the 40th anniversary of the “miracle of 1948”, it is interesting to look back at the election and ask was it really a miracle?

“DEWEY DEFEATS TRUMAN” read the headlines of the first edition of the November 3rd, 1948 *Chicago Daily Tribune*.

Willard Kiplinger, one of Washington's most profound “pundits”, hit the newsstands on election eve with a lead story entitled “What Dewey Will Do”.

These events signified what everyone had expected - Dewey would win the election. In fact, Dewey's associates were so certain of victory that they ran a campaign based on the principle that the problem was not to get elected, but to avoid antagonisms which would impede effective Republican government after the election had been won. (To this affect the prominent Republican Senator from Illinois, Arthur Vandenberg, did not actively campaign for Dewey so as not to upset Southern Democrats involved with him in the bi-partisan foreign policy.)

Much of the certainty about Dewey's “victory” occurred as a result of the opinion polls which all showed Dewey with sizeable leads. The final national polls showed:

<u>Poll</u>	<u>Truman</u>	<u>Dewey</u>	<u>Thurmond</u>	<u>Wallace</u>
Gallup	44.5%	49.5%	2.0%	4.0%
Crossley	44.8%	49.9%	1.6%	3.3%
Roper	31.4%	44.2%	4.4%	3.6%
Actual	49.5%	45.1%	2.4%	2.4%

In the October 11, 1948 issue of *Newsweek*, fifty leading political writers unanimously predicted a Dewey victory. Their survey predicted 376 electoral votes for Dewey, 116 for Truman, and 39 for Thurmond. It went on to forecast narrow Republican control of the Senate, and wider Republican control of the House. For the entire month of October the *New York Times* had a team of reporters assigned across the country and they forecasted Dewey with twenty-nine states (345 electoral votes), Truman with eleven states (105 electoral votes), Thurmond with four states (38 electoral votes), and the remaining four states in doubt.

Perhaps, Elmo Roper signified the attitude of “experts” best when he wrote on September 9th, 1948:

“...Thomas Dewey is almost as good as elected to the Presidency of the United States...Mr. Truman's campaign is not likely to evoke any electoral miracles.

“That being so, I can think of nothing duller or more intellectually barren than acting like a sports announcer who feels he must pretend he is witnessing a neck-and-neck race that will end in a photo finish or a dramatic upset for the favorite - and then have to announce that the horse which was eight

lengths ahead at the turn is still eight lengths ahead. So: as of this Sept. 9, my whole inclination is to predict the election of Thomas E. Dewey by a heavy margin and devote my time and efforts to other things. The scores of issues that confront the United States and the public's reaction to them strike me as providing much more interesting and vital material for investigation by public opinion research than the Presidential ‘race’ between Mr. Dewey and Mr. Truman.

“...we are now approaching the fourth Presidential election since then [the introduction of polls] and the validation is complete: it is known that a scientifically conducted and antiseptically clean survey will coincide with the actual choice of the voters within a close limit of error...

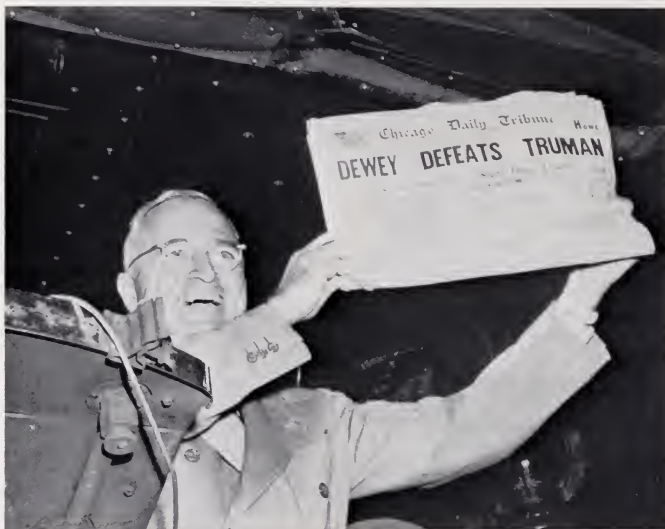
“...Mr. Dewey is still so clearly ahead that we might just as well get ready to listen to his inaugural on Jan. 20, 1949.”

Yes, the polls were certain and so were the political analysts. All of the elements were present to explain the demise of Truman.

The President's popularity had fallen rapidly. Polls in January of 1948 had hinted that Truman could defeat any of the serious Republican contenders - Dewey, Stassen, or Warren, and that he could enjoy a landslide over Taft. By Spring the President had fallen behind Dewey and Stassen, among others, while Warren and Taft narrowed the gap. Meanwhile, in October 1947 fifty-five percent of those polled approved Truman's performance in office, while only thirty-six percent approved of his performance in April of 1948.

It was also clear that voters were willing to vote for Republican candidates. The elections of 1946 had produced the first Republican Congress since the Depression (Senate 51-45 Republican and the House 246-188). The Democrats had suffered a great defeat and it appeared that the great Democratic majority established under FDR was breaking up.

Making Truman's chances appear even worse, the Democratic Party appeared to be “splitting apart at the seams”. First came the announcement in December 1947 that Henry Wallace would run for President under the Progressive label. Wallace had strong differences with Truman over foreign policy (Wallace wanted friendly relations with the Soviet Union) and threatened to take many dissatisfied Democratic liberals with him. In early 1948 it was estimated that Wallace would draw six percent of the vote - an amount large enough to cost Truman the election (as Wallace's strength was predominantly in the large cities which had been so important in FDR's victories). In February 1948, voters in a New York



congressional district elected a Wallaceite in a special election. After this, most Democratic leaders recognized Truman's chances in New York as being very slim.

As if the Democratic split from the "Left" was not enough, a second split occurred. The Deep South had been threatening all along to bolt the Democratic Party if it had civil rights "shoved down its throat". Things had remained quiet until a minority plank to the platform was introduced at the Democratic Convention. The minority civil rights plank called for full and equal political participation, equal opportunity of employment, security of person, and equal treatment in the service and defense of our nation. Influential northern bosses, convinced that the national ticket was a lost cause, were less concerned with southern diehards bolting than with solidifying the Black vote behind their local and state candidates. (Henry Wallace had been making inroads to this constituency in major cities.) "New Deal liberals" joined the northern bosses in favor of the stronger civil rights plank, repudiating Southern Democrats who had been voting with Republicans on domestic issues for many years. Alabama and Mississippi immediately withdrew from the Convention. In a convention of their own, the State's Rights Party nominated Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina as their candidate for President. These "bolters" had control of the state Democratic organizations in South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana and could compel the regular Democratic electors to support Thurmond. Truman electors in these four states were forced to run as independents with little chance of success. Thus, a minimum of four states were lost from the "Solid South".

As the Election of 1948 approached, the Democratic Party did indeed appear badly split and almost certain to

be defeated. Morale among Democrats was very low. National Chairman J. Howard McGrath was confronted with a lack of funds and a disorganized party.

Editorial opinion was not treating Truman well either. Seventy-five percent of the newspapers in the country were supporting Dewey, while only fifteen percent were supporting Truman. In New York, the media capital of the country, only the struggling *New York Star* supported Truman. Even the supposedly liberal *New York Post* declared for Dewey, as did the influential *New York Times*.

With these factors as a background, how did Truman win by over 2 million votes and over 100 electoral votes?

What most political analysts and experts failed to realize in 1948 was that the coalition that FDR had formed did not die with him. Truman's vote retained basic elements of the Roosevelt coalition. Truman had heavy urban support, which had always been an integral part of Roosevelt's pluralities. In fact, had it not been for heavy urban pluralities there would not have been a Democratic president in 1940, 1944, or 1948.

In Catholic areas Truman received a record vote, at times even exceeding what Al Smith had received twenty years earlier. Much of this has been credited with the return to the Democratic Party of many Catholics who had been supporters of Father Coughlin. Truman's strong stand against Communism also gained Catholic support.

Truman also received widespread support from the working classes. These people felt that the Democrats served their interests best and pointed to the Taft-Hartley Act as an example of what they could expect from the Republicans.

In the South, Truman won every state where he was listed as the Democratic candidate. Outside of South

Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana racial concerns were too weak to cause the majority of the people to bolt their regular political party allegiance.

Farmers also lined up behind Truman in totally unexpected numbers. This election even saw Truman capture Iowa, the very "citadel of Republicanism". Support for Truman grew out of farmers' fears of an economic depression. They felt Dewey might mean the end of farm subsidies and supports.

Truman was also able to welcome back people to the Roosevelt coalition who had left it because of foreign policy. His greatest gains came in German-American counties, where FDR had suffered his heaviest losses in 1940. With the War's end and Roosevelt's death, plus Truman's strong stand against the Berlin blockade and for economic aid to West Germany, many of the German-Americans returned to the Democratic fold.

Political analysts of the day failed to realize that the coalition begun under FDR had indeed shaped the Democratic Party into the majority party, and this would continue long after Roosevelt. In fact, in winning, Truman often trailed local candidates on the Democratic ticket.

Political analysts also overestimated the effects of Wallace and Thurmond on Truman's reelection chances. As it turned out, Wallace helped save Truman when he allowed his party to become dominated by Communists. Thus, Henry Wallace's campaign took "the Communist curse" off Truman, who was much less vulnerable than he might otherwise have been to charges of being 'soft' on communism. In the end, Wallace wound up costing Truman the states of New York (In New York Wallace polled 509,559 while Truman lost the state by only 60,959), Michigan, Maryland, and probably New Jersey. But other groups counteracted this defection by strongly rallying around Truman - Catholics, German-Americans, and farmers all supported Truman stronger than they had FDR four years earlier.

The Dixiecrat revolt also tended to unify other members of the Democratic Party behind Truman. Thurmond cost Truman thirty-nine electoral votes from the South. However, those who detested the racist policies of the South were drawn into active support for the President. For instance, Black leaders gave heavy support to Truman, urging their constituency to vote for him, reasoning that should he lose, never again would a presidential candidate defy the South.

Political analysts had also underrated the effect of the campaign itself. However, it appears the nature of Truman's campaign did definitely attract votes. The President had a definite campaign strategy (laid out by Clark Clifford) and stuck with it. His banner was the New Deal and his campaign was positive and hard hitting.

Truman was to shrewdly use the Eightieth Congress (controlled by Republicans) to demonstrate the public's continuing attachment to New Deal reform. To carry this out, the President announced to the Democratic Convention in his acceptance speech that he was immediately calling back the Congress to allow them to make good on

the programs they had written into the Republican platform - curb higher prices, increase the minimum wage, liberalize immigration of displaced persons, enact public housing, and aid education. Truman and his advisers had truly come up with a great idea. They were providing an arena in which the Republican performance could be matched against the newly drafted Republican platform. The special session lasted two weeks with Truman gaining additional power to control consumer credit and to increase bank reserves. However, Congress passed no legislation on such issues as the minimum wage increase, aid to education, and public housing. Truman successfully called the Republicans' bluff. Throughout the entire campaign, the President was to attack the record of the Eightieth Congress, referring to it as the worst Congress in history. In attacking the Republican controlled Congress, "he gave the voters something to be 'agin'," which has often been called the most powerful motivation of voter behavior. He blamed the Congress for budget cuts, price and rent increases (caused by forced abandonment of price controls), the housing shortage, and passage over his veto of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Another stroke of campaigning brilliance was the use of a cross-country train to take advantage of the President's charm. Truman had never been an effective formal speaker, but his easy manner when speaking informally proved to be a big campaign asset. In what became known as a "whistle-stop" campaign, the President traveled 22,000 miles and spoke to some six million people. His speeches were down-to-earth, hard-hitting talks of an average man aimed at the average man.

Also beneficial was the fact that as President, Truman had the advantage of running the government during the campaign. In this respect he was aided by two events in Europe. The first was Russia's coup in Czechoslovakia, which was to cause much harm to Henry Wallace and his "cooperation with Russia" position. The second was the Berlin Blockade and the United States' responding airlift. As weeks wore on and the airlift succeeded, the country experienced a surge of pride from which President Truman benefited as leader (and which further undercut Wallace's stand on foreign policy).

It has often been alleged that Dewey discarded the aggressive methods he had used in 1944 and instead ran an uninspiring and unaggressive campaign which caused many Republicans to stay at home, costing himself and his Party the election. However, it is hard to criticize Dewey as commentators of the day thought he was playing it just right. Drew Pearson was typical when he wrote that Dewey had "conducted one of the most astute and skillful campaigns in recent years." The "experts" misperceived the situation by not recognizing that the Republicans were a true minority party and that the Party did not have the support base which the Democrats had maintained even through the Wallace and Dixiecrat splits.

Then why were the polls so wrong?

First, the pollsters stopped polling much too early. Gallup's final prediction, published the day before the

(continued on page 35)

Eisenhower Answers America

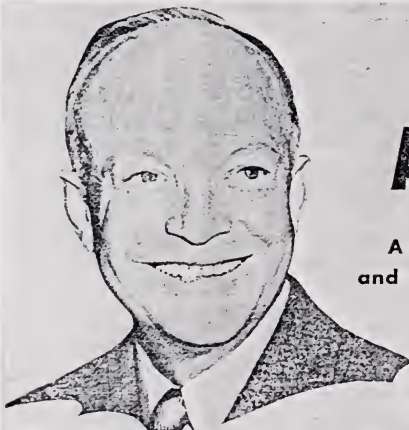
By John Pendergrass

In the fall of 1952, the Republican party launched a television commercial campaign that played a major role in electing Dwight D. Eisenhower President of the United States. Starting in the second week of October, viewers in a dozen or so key states were saturated with a series of 20 second messages entitled "Eisenhower Answers America." In each of these commercials, Ike would answer questions posed by a group of ordinary looking voters. The spots focused on the main issues of concern in 1952, such as the Korean War, increasing taxes, corruption in Washington, and the high cost of living. Each ad was simple, uncluttered, and to the point. For example, in one commercial an unhappy man grasps the lapel of his coat and says, "General, this suit cost me sixty dollars. I used to buy the same for thirty dollars." Ike replies, "You paid a hundred and one taxes on that suit and next year you may pay two hundred, unless you vote for a change."

Although crude by today's standards, the "Eisenhower Answers America" campaign was the first successful

attempt to sell a presidential candidate using Madison Avenue methods.

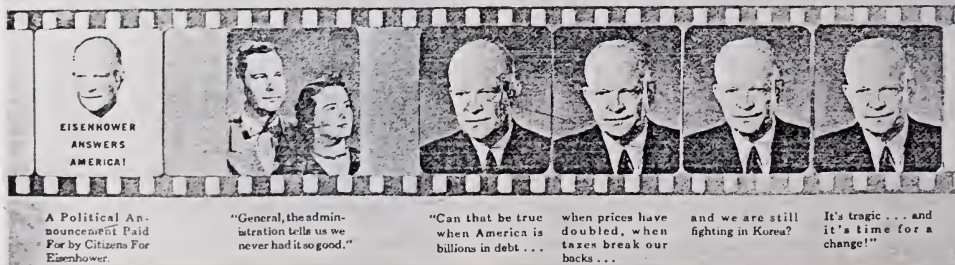
The principal figure in the "Eisenhower Answers America" campaign was New York adman Rosser Reeves, a partner in the Ted Bates and Company Agency. Reeves pioneered several basic advertising concepts and was the first to apply them to political commercials. For instance, he was a leading proponent of the "hard sell." Using this technique, the selling points of a product were presented in a brief, simple, and forceful manner and were repeated time and time again. The "Prince of the Hard Sell," as Reeves came to be known, was responsible for the ads for Anacin, Colgate dental cream, Bic pens, and many other products that inundated the airwaves of the 1950's and 1960's. Reeves was also a strong believer in spot commercials. During the years of radio and the early television era, advertisers would spend large sums of money sponsoring 30 or 60 minute programs featuring famous entertainers such as Jack Benny, Fred Allen and Milton



EISENHOWER Answers America!

**A Dramatic Series of Twenty-five 20-Second
and 1-Minute TV and Radio Spot Announcements
Now Available!**

**ALL THE ISSUES met fairly and squarely
in 25 TV Films and Radio Spot Announcements like this:**



Berle. Reeves felt that short commercials ("spots") sandwiched in between the big shows could be just as effective at a much lower cost. Reeves' advertising firm was also one of the first to test commercials on a sample audience and measure how many people actually remembered the message of the commercial. This concept was known in the ad business as "penetration".

Rosser Reeves' involvement with the Eisenhower campaign began in the summer of 1952. Three wealthy Republicans, gathered at a Rhode Island golf club, heard President Truman, while campaigning, use the slogan, "You Never Had It So Good." The trio turned to Reeves for help in developing an effective line for the Republicans to counter with. Instead of recommending a specific slogan, Reeves suggested a television advertising campaign to help promote the GOP's fortunes. Convinced that the spot could deliver more listeners for less money than any other form of advertising, he proposed an ad program consisting entirely of radio and television spots featuring General Eisenhower.

A market analysis prepared by a former Reeves' associ-

ate, Marshall Levin, indicated that a good showing in select counties in twelve states would ensure a Republican victory. Reeves' strategy was to saturate these areas with television and radio spots. He sold Walter Williams, Chairman of Citizens for Eisenhower, on the plan and later Ike himself approved.

Reeves worked in the evenings after work for a month preparing questions and answers for the ads. On September 11, he met Eisenhower at the Transfilm Building in New York with 22 scripts ready. Ike, looking directly in the camera, would read the prepared answers to Reeves' questions. The answers were printed in large type on cue cards so that the General could be filmed without his glasses. The filming proceeded much more rapidly than expected, so Reeves quickly wrote more scripts which were approved by Milton Eisenhower and then recorded by Ike. The following day, Reeves' staff visited Radio City and picked out a number of tourists, who were standing in line for guided tours, to appear in the commercials. These people from across the country were filmed as they read

(continued on page 35)

EISENHOWER
ANSWERS
AMERICA

ON THE
HIGH COST
OF LIVING

QUESTION: I paid \$24.00 for these groceries! Look—for this little!



CITIZENS FOR EISENHOWER-NIXON, Walter Williams -Chairman, Mrs. Oswald B. Lord -Co-Chairman, Sidney J. Weinberg, Treasurer

EISENHOWER: A few years ago, those same groceries cost you \$10.00. Now—twenty-four! Next year, thirty! That's what will happen, unless we have a change!



EISENHOWER
ANSWERS
AMERICA

ON
PEACE

QUESTION: Mr. Eisenhower—are we going to have to fight another war?



CITIZENS FOR EISENHOWER-NIXON, Walter Williams, Chairman - Mrs. Oswald B. Lord, Co-Chairman - Sidney J. Weinberg, Treasurer

EISENHOWER: NO—not if we have a sound program for peace. And I'll add *this*: I won't spend hundreds of billions—and still not have enough tanks and planes for Korea.



“PRINCESS ALICE” and PRINCE HENRY

By Christopher Hearn

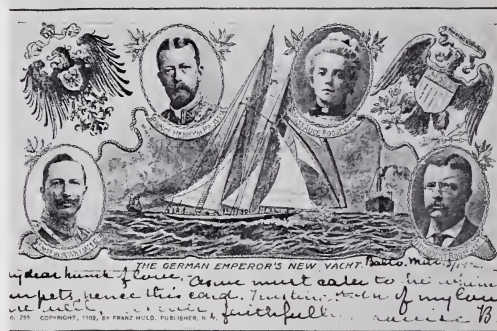
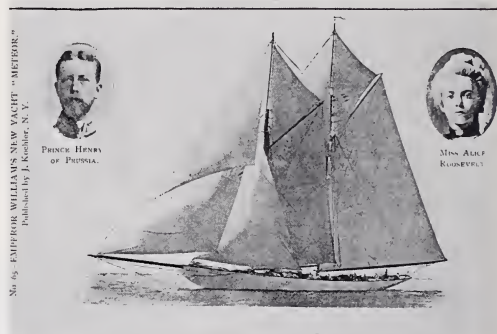
Hair of amber, gray-blue eyes, and an imperious lift to her chin, these were what always struck people first when they came in contact with Alice Roosevelt. The only child of Theodore Roosevelt's first marriage, Alice was able to match the enthusiasm of her boisterous father. If one word could describe each of them it would be “boldness.”

As president of a new world power at the start of a new century, T.R. led the strenuous life. Alice, also a symbol of a new century and a new feminist age, was a “Gibson Girl” come to life. Ladies' Home Journal called her “a typical American girl in the best sense of the word: modest, self-reliant, democratic.” But she believed rules were made to be broken. When her father forbid her to smoke “under my roof” she simply made her way to the White House roof and smoked there.

She possessed both a quick mind and sharp tongue. Her favorite quote was “If you can not say anything nice about someone, come sit next to me.” She set the tone for American society's young women, if not always favorably, at least always honorably.

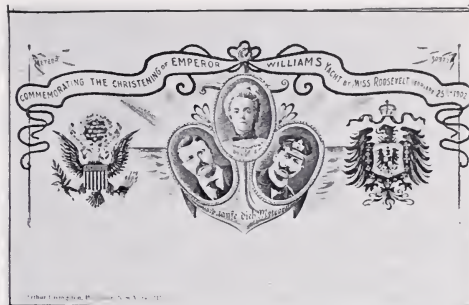
She stood five feet seven inches tall and was filled with energy. She was known to hike with her father through Washington D.C.'s Rock Creek Park and then spend her nights dancing into the late evening hours. In the early 1900's the Roosevelts were the closest thing to royalty that the United States had, and “Our Alice” became “Princess Alice.”

In February 1902, Alice was invited by Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany to christen his new racing schooner-yacht “Meteor.” The Kaiser had commissioned the yacht in an attempt to solidify relations with the U.S. The Meteor was built by the Townsend-Downey shipyards on Shooters Island, off Staten Island's north shore, near the lower end of Newark Bay.



Postcards





Postcards

Prince Henry, the Kaiser's brother, was sent to bring the yacht back to Germany. Henry was Alice's first brush with royalty, and she was quite taken by the prince. She was however amused by the fact that Henry, Prince George of England and Tsar Alexander of Russia were three look-alikes.

Protocol called for an official reception for Prince Henry and an all-male, white tie affair was given in the East Room of the White House by President Roosevelt. It featured German beer and medal presentations. One hundred guests dined at one single table.

That night T.R., Alice and First Lady Edith Roosevelt left on a train for Jersey City. The Prince's party was also on board.

Upon arrival, and after breakfast on the train, the President's party rode a ferry to Shooters Island. T.R.'s gift for languages allowed him to serve as the interpreter on the trip. Although rain fell intermittently, the crowd which surrounded the bunting-covered grandstand was sizable.

The representatives' parties were met with cannon salutes, drum roles, and bands playing "The Star Spangled Banner" and "Heil Dir in Siegerkranz."

Alice wore blue corduroy trimmed with lace. With the words "In the name of His Majesty, the German Emperor, I christen this yacht Meteor," Alice struck the ship's white bow with a bottle of French champagne. Prince Henry snapped a salute. The deed was done. Although it had been suggested that Alice give a speech, her father squelched the idea. Prince Henry presented Alice with pink roses and kissed her hand. The crowd yelled "Hoch the Kaiser!"

Alice had taken it upon herself to send a cablegram to the Kaiser himself, "HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR BERLIN GERMANY. THE METEOR HAS BEEN SUCCESSFULLY LAUNCHED. I CONGRATULATE YOU AND I THANK YOU FOR YOUR COURTESY TO ME AND I SEND MY BEST WISHES. ALICE LEE ROOSEVELT." The Kaiser later expressed his gratitude by ordering a German admiralty yacht named "Alice Lee."

At a reception on the Kaiser's steam yacht, Hohenzollern, which had brought Henry to the U.S., the Prince toasted Alice. T.R. decided to let Alice accept Henry's invitation to join him at a gala performance of the New

(continued on page 35)



Sheet Music

The AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

By Edward Novick

Recently I obtained the following cache of political labels. While only three are inscribed "America First Committee," they all spout the thoughts of that organization. One label quotes Wendell Phillips, a nineteenth century American reformer, philosopher, and a leading abolitionist, who lived 1811-1884. He was an educator and a radical opponent of slavery. He supported women's rights, labor reform and temperance. While many of his quotes are listed in Bartlett's; the one on the label is not. All the labels are gummed and on white paper. All are straight-edged, except those inscribed with "America First Committee."

The America First Committee was the most powerful of the isolationist, or non-interventionist groups from 1940 to December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor Day. They were a minority group, but very active. The country however was behind Roosevelt's feelings, that the United States should become the arsenal of democracy. A Gallup Poll showed the people behind the president by 70%.

The America First Committee started at Yale as a

student organization. It was headed by R. Douglas Stuart Jr., a law student and son of the first vice-president of Quaker Oats Company. It was formalized on September 4, 1940 in Chicago with General Robert E. Wood, Chairman of the Board of Sears Roebuck and Company, as National Chairman. Stuart was given the designation of National Director. General Wood had been a supporter of Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936, but was against the New Deal in 1940, as he felt that all-out aid to Great Britain would involve the United States in war.

Stuart announced four broad policy objectives.

1. To create impregnable American defenses.
2. To keep any foreign power, or coalition of powers, from attacking a prepared United States.
3. To preserve American democracy by keeping out of a European War.
4. To stop "aid short of war" which weakened national defenses and at the same time threatened to involve the U.S. on Britain's side.

These led to certain assumptions.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.
Dear Sir:

.....Right now, 1941..

Get U. S. Out of War and
KEEP U. S. OUT OF WAR!!

Sincerely yours,
John Q. Public



NATIONAL UNITY?
Yes-
FOR PEACE!!
Help Keep
U. S. Out of War!



KEEP U. S. OUT OF WAR!
Repeal Conscription!!
"DEMOCRACY BEGINS AT HOME"
Make U.S. Impregnable in
The Democratic Way.



WAR?
What For?
DOWN
With WAR!

1. Germany would and should be allowed to dominate Europe.
2. England could make a deal with Germany and thus not need U.S. intervention.
3. With 3000 miles of ocean, the U.S. was safe from Hitler's New Order.
4. Entry into a foreign war would make Roosevelt a dictator and bring socialism or other dangerous economic or social changes.

A large national committee was formed including many notables. Among them were John T. Flynn, George Peek, Chester Bowles, Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Edward Rickenbacker (World War I ace), Kathleen Norris (author), and Lillian Gish, the actress. Prominent speakers were Democratic Senator Burton K. Wheeler,

Republican Senator Gerald P. Nye, and Col. Charles A. Lindbergh, as well as Congressman Hamilton Fish. Lindbergh joined the America First Committee in April 1941. He was fully in accord with the organization's advocating U.S. non-intervention in European affairs, and pleased with the leadership of Hitler. Lindbergh stated that the British, Jews and the Roosevelt Administration were trying to involve the country in war.

With the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the America First Committee ceased its non-interventionist activities, ceased as an organization, and pledged to support the war effort.

While they never really accomplished much, they were a notable dissenting voice in the democratic process. ★



It is up to you to insist that this pledge is kept:

"Your boys are NOT going to be sent into any foreign wars."

Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Oct. 31, 1940



NO FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS
KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR!



Make America Strong

Keep U. S. Out of War!

"If I am to love my country, it must be lovable; if I am to honor it, it must be worthy of respect." *Wendell Phillips*



"They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety." "Mad wars destroy in one year the works of many years of Peace." "War is not paid for in war time; the bill comes later." *Benjamin Franklin*



"Government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Yet we are being pushed into war against the people's wishes! **WHY?**



Thomas Jefferson:

"I have ever deemed it fundamental for the United States never to take an active part in the quarrels of Europe. Their political interests are entirely distinct from ours. Their mutual jealousies, their balance of power, their forms and principles of government, are all foreign to us. They are nations of eternal war."

Let the **PEOPLE**
VOTE ON WAR!
Who else can decide so momentous a question?
Write your Congressman!



Banner carried by Dayton, Ohio, Newsline in "Home Town" celebration for Governor Cox.—The Daily News.

POLITICAL WORDSEARCH

By Bob Atwater

HIDDEN WORDS

- AMBROTYPE
AMERICANA
APIC
BANDANNA
BLAINE
BOURSE
BROADSIDE
BRUMMAGEM
BRYAN
BULL MOOSE
BUMPERSTICKER
CANDIDATE
CASS
CELLULOID
CLAY
COLLET
COX
DEWEY
FERROTYPE
FOXING
GOLDBUG
GREEN DUCK
HAKE
HANCOCK
HARRISON
HOOVER
HOPEFUL
HUGHES
I LIKE IKE
INAUGURATION
J.F.K.
JUGATE
KEYNOTER
LONDON
L.B.J.
LITHO
LOCAL
MECHANICAL
NEW DEAL
NIXON
PARKER
PIERCE
PINBACK
POSTER
REAGAN
RIBBON
RIKER
- SLOGAN BUTTON
SMITH
STICKPIN
STUD
TAFT
THIRD PARTY
TOKEN
TRUMAN
VOTE
WILLKIE
WILSON

There are only 50 states, but in this puzzle there are 58 hidden words that we as political items collectors use regularly. Can you find them? Each word is hidden in a straight line horizontally, vertically, or diagonally. Some are backwards or upside down. Have fun; it may be more difficult than finding a rare piece at a flea market.

F	S	T	I	C	K	P	I	N	N	A	M	U	R	T	N	R
G	J	W	Y	T	R	A	P	D	R	I	H	T	N	Z	O	A
N	Y	N	A	G	A	E	R	R	T	Z	A	E	P	R	I	M
I	A	O	B	E	M	A	E	K	I	E	K	I	L	I	T	B
X	L	S	T	F	A	T	D	W	J	O	E	E	B	B	A	R
O	C	I	N	O	S	L	I	W	T	R	A	R	U	B	R	O
F	E	R	R	O	T	Y	P	E	C	I	U	M	P	O	U	T
E	S	R	P	Y	N	A	S	E	G	M	P	S	E	N	G	Y
I	R	A	Z	A	R	Q	G	R	M	E	N	N	H	R	U	P
K	U	H	Y	K	N	U	E	A	R	O	I	L	T	O	A	E
L	O	R	E	O	B	E	G	S	D	A	A	A	I	H	N	S
L	B	R	X	D	N	E	T	N	L	N	N	E	M	T	I	K
I	U	I	L	D	M	I	A	B	R	O	A	D	S	I	D	E
W	N	O	U	E	C	L	J	F	K	T	C	W	R	L	S	L
E	G	C	F	K	M	R	A	B	S	T	I	E	W	S	A	T
S	K	A	E	D	E	K	H	C	L	U	R	N	A	C	E	E
O	B	R	P	V	I	E	S	R	I	B	E	C	O	L	D	T
O	G	P	O	Z	T	O	T	E	A	N	M	L	L	S	I	A
M	J	O	H	A	W	Y	L	N	H	A	A	O	X	R	P	D
L	H	Q	G	I	E	F	D	U	V	G	C	H	O	I	R	I
L	M	U	S	W	U	A	C	S	L	O	U	A	C	K	S	D
U	J	K	E	Y	N	O	T	E	R	L	T	H	L	E	I	N
B	R	D	S	N	L	X	D	U	T	S	E	E	T	R	M	A
V	K	C	A	B	N	I	P	K	K	C	O	C	N	A	H	C

(Princess Alice, continued from page 31)

York Metropolitan Opera that night. T.R. and Edith then traveled back to the White House.

Once at the opera, Alice made the rounds suitable for true royalty. She sat in a different box for each act. That day the Meteor was not the only thing christened. Due to the popularity of the young lady, the press christened her "Princess Alice."

Although the years would see the U.S. fight Germany in two world wars, Alice would temper her remarks for the Germans with memories of that day. Till the day she died, Alice kept the broken champagne bottle, encased in glass, in her sitting room.

During the Second World War, the Meteor fell into U.S. hands. It was sent to Massachusetts where it was sold to a scrap dealer. He had workers dismantle the Meteor's teak-wood decks and remove its silver light fixtures. The once proud yacht, which had been christened with such high hopes and fanfare, spent its last remaining years as a cargo carrier, traveling between New York and the West Indies.★



(Miracle of 1948, continued from page 27)

election, was actually based on two national samples gathered during mid-October. Crossley's final forecast was derived from state surveys taken during mid-August, mid-September, and mid-October. Roper's final estimate used data which he collected in August for his September 9th column. Furthermore, polls did not consider the large amount of undecided voters. The undecided would either be disregarded totally, or divided up proportionately. The polls were not ready for any kind of a late vote shift.

Polls in 1948 were not sophisticated by our current standards and were ill prepared for the closest election since pre-election polls had begun in 1936. It was the polls though, that had led everyone to believe that Dewey was a "shoo-in" for President. Therefore, those analysts and "experts" who might have felt otherwise and foresaw some of the trends tended not to voice them. To those who awoke on November 3rd to find Truman as the winner, it indeed seemed like a "miracle."

After 1948 many Republicans began to realize that in 1952 they would need a candidate who could break-up the Roosevelt coalition. This would take a man of immense popularity. Once the man was convinced to run, there would be little the Democrats could do; and that was indeed to be the case in 1952. But 1948 belonged to the man from Independence, Missouri who "Gave 'em hell."★

(Eisenhower Answers, continued from page 29)

Reeves' questions from cue cards. The questions were later matched with the answers Ike had recorded earlier. The finished product was "Eisenhower Answers America." All in all, a large number of ads were produced in a short period of time at a very low cost (the total production expense was \$60,000).

The Democrats of course were outraged at the saturation ad campaign. George Ball, executive director of Volunteers for Stevenson, said the ads were designed to sell Eisenhower to the voters in the same manner as "soap, ammoniated toothpaste, hair tonic, and bubble gum," a sentiment Reeves would probably have agreed with. They appealed to the Federal Communications Commission to stop the ads, claiming they monopolized the airways. The FCC refused to act, stating that no laws had been violated.

Some \$1,500,000 was raised by the Republicans to run the ads in the important areas of the country. Over \$250,000 was spent in New York City alone. Eisenhower did very well, carrying all of the states that received heavy targeting.

The significance of the television spot commercial campaign lies not in the fact that it helped Ike win. He polled over 6 million more votes than Stevenson and probably would have been elected anyway. More importantly, the "Eisenhower Answers America" program of 1952 marked the beginning of the dominance of television in the conduct of political campaigns. In future years, candidates would have to be packaged and marketed with television in mind in order to be successful.★

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO MISS. ALICE ROOSEVELT.

DAUGHTER OF THE NATION

MARCH AND TWO STEP



BY

CHAS. KUEBLER

COMPOSER OF

CUPIDS' PRANKS WALTZ, VIVETTE MARCH & TWO-STEP
HAKKWA CLUB TWO-STEP.

PUBLISHED FOR
ORCHESTRA

